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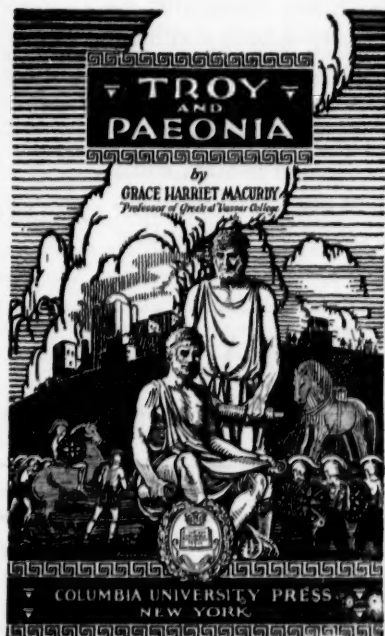
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The Classical Weekly

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THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

The Twentieth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States will be held on Friday and Saturday, April 30 and May 1, at the University of Pennsylvania.

Detailed information concerning the meeting will be furnished in due time to every member of the Association, by way of a copy of the programme. Information about it will be printed, too, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY.

SOME PRIVATE HOUSES IN ANCIENT ROME¹

This paper does not claim to present new material or an original point of view. It is simply an attempt to gather, from ancient sources and from modern authorities, some of the most interesting facts at present available about the private houses of ancient Rome.

Although some scholars have advanced a different view, the more generally accepted theory is that the Palatine Hill was the site of the earliest settlement of Rome². See Platner, 32-45³. From this hill the city spread out over the other hills.

The Romans themselves maintained that on the Palatine Hill Romulus had lived, and even down to the time of Augustus they pointed out, probably on the southwest corner of the hill, a little hut which they called the *Casa Romuli*. It is said that the hut caught fire twice in the time of Augustus. It was, perhaps, enclosed by him in an *aedes*, which endured until the fourth century.

From Solinus 1.22 we learn that all the other early kings of Rome lived either on the Palatine or near it (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 19.15).

Among the earliest dwellers on the Palatine of whom we have record was Vitruvius Vaccus, who was condemned for high treason in 330 B. C. (Jordan, 55). Compare Livy 8.19.4: Vitruvius Vaccus, vir non domi solum, sed etiam Romae clarus. Aedes fuere in Palatio eius, quae Vacca Prata diruto aedificio publicatogue solo appellata. Cicero, De Domo 101, tells us that 'in Vaccus's Commons stood the house of Marcus Vaccus, which was confiscated and torn down that the

memory of his crime might be kept alive by the name of the spot'⁴.

Such occasional references to the early inhabitants of the Palatine have, however, less interest than attaches to names of the late Republic, a time when this hill was a favorite dwelling-place of the rich and the great. Cicero, De Officiis 1.138, speaking of a certain Cn. Octavius, the first of the Octavii to hold the consulship, declares that it was 'accounted an honor to him that he had built a fine house on the Palatine. . . . This house Scaurus tore down. He added the land thus gained to his own property'. The house of M. Aemilius Scaurus, stepson of Sulla, a man whom Cicero defended in a speech still extant, was 'famous for the splendor of its marbles' and 'existed even to the middle of the first century A. D.' (Jordan, 56). Lanciani (118) tells us that it "was perhaps the richest of all Palatine residences". Asconius, In Scaurum, page 23, writes:

'So magnificent was the house of Scaurus. . . . I remember showing you that this house is on that part of the Palatine where you find yourself after coming down from the Sacra Via and passing through the next street to the left. It is now owned by Largus Caecina, who was consul with Claudius <42>. In the atrium of this house were four huge marble columns, which are said to be now in the portico of the theater of Marcellus'.

See also Pliny, N. H. 36.6. We may therefore locate the house of Scaurus, and, in consequence, the house of Octavius, on the northern edge of the Palatine Hill.

Velleius Paterculus tells us (2.14.3) that the house of Marcus Livius Drusus, tribune in 91 B. C., was 'on the Palatine, in that place where stands the house that belonged once to Cicero, then to Censorinus, and now to Statilius Sisenna'. In 2.14.1 he writes that Drusus, who with Lucius Licinius Crassus was leader in the reforms which led to the Social War of 90-89 B. C., was 'knifed to death in the courtyard of his own house on his return from the Forum'.

After the death of Drusus this palace came into the hands of his friend, L. Licinius Crassus, the orator, who, according to Pliny (N. H. 17.6; 36.7), adorned '... the atrium of his house with four columns of Hymettan marble ... although as yet there were no marble columns <in Rome> in any public building ... Lucius Crassus, the famous orator, who was the first to have columns of foreign marble on the Palatine ... was on this account mockingly called, by Marcus Brutus, "The Palatine Venus"'.

This house was known also for its beautiful lotus-trees. Pliny states (N. H. 17.5) that it had 'lotus-trees, with wide, spreading branches, which lasted until the time of the fire of Nero'.

Our greatest interest in this house, however, is due to

⁴I have elected to give here, and every where below, translations of the Latin passages. The translations are my own.

¹This paper was read at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Swarthmore College, May 2, 1925.

²Reference may now be made to Professor H. W. Wright's interesting paper, The City of the Early Kings, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 19.12-16 (October 12, 1925).

³References will be made frequently in this paper to the following works: S. B. Platner, The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome (Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1911); R. Lanciani, The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome: A Companion Book for Students and Travelers (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1897); H. Jordan, Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum, Erster Band, Dritte Abtheilung, Bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen (Berlin, Weidmann, 1907). To save space these works will be referred to simply as Platner, Lanciani, Jordan.

the fact that Cicero lived in it, having bought it from Crassus in 62 B. C. In *De Domo* 100 he tells us that it was *in conspectu totius urbis*, and from *Ad Att.* 2.24 we learn that it was near the Regia; the house, then, was on the northern edge of the Palatine Hill, overlooking the Forum. There is confirmatory evidence in the words of Clodius, Cicero's bitter enemy, who, after he had added part of Cicero's property to his own, said to Pompey that 'he wished to build another portico on the Carinae to correspond to that on the Palatine' (Cicero, *De Haruspicum Responsis* 49. See also Jordan, 58, 59).

Upon the banishment of Cicero and the confiscation of his property, Clodius bought the house; he tore it down, and built a Temple to Liberty on a part of the ground. Cicero, on his return from banishment, writes (*De Domo* 116):

'That house of mine < = the site of my house > is almost wholly unoccupied; scarcely a tenth of my residence has been added to the Porticus Catuli. The real reason < for taking the property > was that he < = Clodius > wanted a promenade, and a monument, and that . . . Temple of Liberty. He wanted to have on the Palatine a paved portico three hundred feet long, with rooms adjoining it, and with a glorious view, and a spacious peristyle, and other such things, that his house might easily outdo that of every body else in luxury and grandeur'.

The property was restored to Cicero, on his return to Rome, and the house seems to have been rebuilt. We hear of it in the first century A. D. as belonging to C. Marcius Censorinus, to Statilius Sisenna, and to Largus Caecina; it finally became part of Caligula's palace.

The house of Quintus Cicero, the orator's brother, was not far from Cicero's own. Compare *Ad Att.* 4.3.2: 'My brother Quintus's house was first damaged by stones thrown from my courtyard, and was then, by Clodius's order, set ablaze by firebrands, while the whole city looked on . . .' Lanciani (118) thinks it was "lower down the slope of the hill".

On the same northern quarter of the hill, perhaps at the west end, were the house and the famous portico of Q. Lutatius Catulus (Pliny, N. H. 17.2). Cicero, *De Domo* 102, writes that the house of M. Fulvius Flaccus, who met his death with Gaius Gracchus, 'was confiscated and destroyed; on its site, sometime later, Quintus Catulus, out of the spoils of the war with the Cimbri, built his portico'. In *De Domo* 114, addressing Catulus, he says, 'You, Quintus Catulus, wished the house of Marcus Fulvius . . . to be a memorial of your victory and its spoils'. Valerius Maximus tells the same story (6.3.1 c): 'Flaccus's house was destroyed from the foundations. But, after its site had been unoccupied for a long time, it was adorned by Quintus Catulus with the spoils of the war with the Cimbri'.

Of these famous houses on the Palatine no remains have been identified with certainty, since practically all the Palatine Hill was gradually overspread by the imperial buildings, which absorbed or destroyed all others. But Lanciani (125-126) writes as follows: 'On ascending the Clivus Victoriae from S. Teodoro < on the western side of the hill > . . ., we pass on the right the remains of thirteen rooms These re-

mains, dating from the last century of the Republic, are attributed to the Porticus Catuli.

The house of P. Clodius Pulcher, Cicero's arch enemy, obviously was near that of the orator. The house of T. Annius Milo, the slayer of Clodius, was on the western side of the Palatine Hill; compare Cicero, *Ad Att.* 4.3.3: '< Clodius > on the twelfth of November tried to storm and burn Milo's house on the Cermalus'. L. Sergius Catilina, too, had a house on the Palatine. Compare Suetonius, *De Grammaticis* 17:

'Verrius Flaccus, the freedman, became noted for a new method of teaching. For this reason he was appointed by Augustus instructor for his grandsons, and moved over to the palace with his whole school . . . he taught in the atrium of Catiline's house⁶, which was then part of the palace . . .'

Before Augustus incorporated other people's houses into his palace, he had lived in at least three different houses on the Palatine. Lanciani (118, 138) reminds us that Augustus was born "near the east corner of the hill, in the lane 'ad capita bubula' ". See Suetonius, Augustus 5. In later years, when he had become master of the world, 'He lived', says Suetonius, Augustus 72, 'at first near the Forum Romanum, above the *Scalae Anulariae*, in the house which had belonged to the orator Calvus; afterwards on the Palatine, in the no less modest mansion of Hortensius, a house conspicuous neither for luxury nor for elegance . . .'. The house of Hortensius was "on the edge of the hill facing the Circus Maximus" (Lanciani, 118).

That Mark Antony also lived on the Palatine, and that later his house was in possession of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and M. Valerius Messala are facts attested by Dio Cassius (53.27.5).

Although no remains of the ancient houses thus far mentioned have been discovered and identified, with the possible exception of the porticus adjoining the property of Catulus, as noted above, the remains of the *Domus Liviae*, or *Domus Germanici*, discovered in 1869, near the southwest corner of the hill, are still to be seen. Jordan (60-63) describes the house. He thinks that the house may well have belonged to Tiberius Claudius Nero, the first husband of Livia, and that it may have been the birthplace of Tiberius and the dwelling-place of Germanicus. Platner discusses it at some length (135-137). I quote him in part:

' . . . This house is the only well-preserved example of a Roman private dwelling of this period. It has usually been supposed that it belonged to Livia, the mother of the emperor Tiberius, or to her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero. On account of its associations it was not torn down but incorporated into the later imperial residence, while retaining its original form and modest exterior

' . . . All these rooms are paved with black and white mosaic, except the tablinum, where there is also some marble.

When this house was first excavated, the wall-paintings were remarkably fresh, but they have faded rapidly since that time

⁶Miss Mann followed here the reading accepted by Lanciani (119), *in atrio Catilinae domus*. But Jordan, 57, condemns this reading, and reads, with the MSS (see Reifferscheid's edition, Teubner text, *Catulinæ domus*, 'Catulus's house'. So does Professor J. C. Rolfe, in his translation (Loeb Classical Library) without hint of variant. C. K.

On the southern slope of the Palatine, adjoining the Circus Maximus, are the remains of the Domus Gelotiana, where, it is said, the Emperor Caligula spent much time on account of its proximity to the Circus Maximus. See Lanciani, 185-187; Platner, 158-159.

A most important article, entitled Excavations on the Palatine, by Commendatore Boni, appeared in The Contemporary Review, 111.203-218 (February, 1917). In reporting discoveries of some interesting private houses, Professor Boni mentions one, close to a reservoir, which, he believes, dates from the last years of the Republic.

... The house is a most important one, because the central hall is decorated with fresco paintings, important from both the artistic and historical points of view, since they reveal the importation of symbols and of ornaments from Egypt and from Asia Minor. ... In the construction of this late Republican house, again, a still more ancient house has been cut through, of which the staircase ... is still preserved.

Again, at a certain point the foundations of three of the imperial palaces met, "and were cut through the threshold and vestibule of another house of the late Republican period, originally belonging to a patrician family such as that of Catiline". Under this house were found decorations of a house of the third century B. C., and some still older remains, of a house, apparently, of the sixth or the fifth century B. C.

The Capitoline Hill is so closely identified in our minds with the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and that of Juno Moneta that it is a surprise to learn that at one time there were private houses on this hill. Marcus Manlius Capitolinus had a house on its northern spur, where the Temple of Juno Moneta afterwards stood. Valerius Maximus (6.3.1 a) writes:

'Marcus Manlius himself was hurled from the rock from which he had routed the Gauls, because he basely endeavored to crush that liberty which once he had bravely defended. ... On his account it was decreed by law that no patrician should thereafter live on the Arx or on the Capitol, because he had a house in the place where now we see the Temple of Moneta'.

Compare Cicero, De Domo 101: 'Marcus Manlius, after he had repulsed the attempt of the Gauls to climb the Capitol, was not content with the glory of his great service to the State, but was adjudged an aspirant for royal power. Therefore his house was razed ...' It would seem that the decree, together with the building of temples, gradually crowded out the private houses from the Capitoline Hill.

There is record of several famous dwellings on the Quirinal, among them that of Cicero's friend, Titus Pomponius Atticus. Cicero, De Legibus 1.3, writes thus:

'I will answer you, but not before you answer me, Atticus, and tell me whether in fact, while Romulus, after his departure from this world, was walking not far from your house, he really said to Proculus Julius that he was a god and was called Quirinus, and ordered a temple to be dedicated to him in that place'.

To the proximity of Atticus's house to the Temple of Quirinus Cicero makes a similar allusion in Ad Att. 13.28, and 12.45. The Temple of Salus, also, was not

far from the house (Ad Att. 12.45). Compare *tuae vicina Salutis*, Ad Att. 4.1.4.

Nepos gives a pleasant description of Atticus's house (Atticus 13):

'He had a house on the Quirinal Hill which had belonged to Tamphilus; he had inherited it from an uncle. Its charm depended not on the building itself, but on the woods (*silva*); for the house itself, built in the old days, displayed more elegance than luxury, and he changed nothing in it but what he was forced to change because of its age'.

In 1558, a house in a good state of preservation was discovered at the southeast corner of the Via del Quirinale (the ancient Alta Semita) and the Via della Consulta (the ancient Clivus Salutis, according to Platner, 485; but see the notes on Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum <= C.I.L. > 6.1492, and the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, 17 [1889], 387). On a column in this house was a bronze tablet inscribed to Titus Pomponius Bassus, *curator alimentorum* under Trajan, reciting that the Ferentini addressed to the Senate a request that Titus Pomponius Bassus should be made their *patronus*, and that envoys were sent to Bassus to inform him of their wish and to ask permission to set up in his house a bronze tablet to this effect. It is generally accepted as entirely possible that this house is on the site of the original home of the Pomponii, that is, of Atticus (see *Rheinisches Museum*, 49 [1894], 397, 399, 403; *Bullettino*, etc., 17 [1889], 380).

Not far from the house of Atticus stood that of the poet Martial. Martial himself tells us that he lived near the Temple of Quirinus (10.58.9-10; 11.1.9), and near the Temple of Flora and the Capitolium Vetus (5.22.3; 6.27.1). Both the latter, we know, were on the same part of the hill as the Temples of Quirinus and Salus. In his earlier and apparently less prosperous days Martial seems to have lived on the same hill, in one of the great apartment houses so numerous in Rome, since he speaks (1.108.3) of 'his attic overlooking the laurels of Agrippa', that is, the park laid out by Agrippa in the Campus Martius.

In the ancient street called Ad Malum Punicum, probably the modern Via della Quattro Fontane, a *cippus* was found (C.I.L. 6.29788), which was inscribed *inter duos parietes ambitus privatus Flavi Sabini*, 'the private walk, between two walls, belonging to Flavius Sabinus'. The note in the Corpus accompanying this inscription states that Flavius Sabinus seems to have been either the brother or the nephew of Vespasian, and that it is agreed that the house and the Temple of the Gens Flavia were on or near the spot where this *cippus* was found. Here, therefore, the Emperor Vespasian must have lived; and here, according to Suetonius, Dom. 1, Domitian was born: 'Domitian was born ... in the Sixth Region, Ad Malum Punicum, in the house which he afterwards converted into the Temple of the Flavian Gens'.

Passing from the Quirinal to the southern slope of the Viminal on the Via del Bambin Gesù (the ancient Vicus Patricius), we shall come upon the Church of S. Pudenziana, of which Lanciani writes thus (Pagan and Christian Rome, 112):

A very old tradition, confirmed by the 'Liber Pontificalis', describes the modern church of S. Pudenziana as having been once the private house of the same Pudens who was baptized by the Apostles, and who is mentioned in the Epistles of S. Paul < 2 Timothy 4. 21 >

Ruins of a house were discovered under S. Pudenziana in 1870, containing statues of Bacchus, Diana, Mercury, and other pagan deities (see Bulletino, etc., 19 [1891], 305, 311).

From the slope on which the house of Pudens stood we might pass down the valley between the Viminal and the Cispius and up the western slope of the Oppius to the region called the Carinae, where several famous Romans lived. Why the district was called Carinae is uncertain. Servius (on Aeneid 8.361) says, 'The Carinae were houses built after the manner of hulls <carinae>, and were around the Temple of Tellus'. Varro, De Lingua Latina 5.1.47, has a different explanation of the name. This Temple of Tellus was built on the site of the house of Spurius Cassius, who was condemned to death on a charge of treason, in 485 B. C. Compare Valerius Maximus 6.3.1 b:

'An equal indignation on the part of the State broke out against Spurius Cassius, to whom the suspicion that he was aiming at supreme power did more harm than three glorious consulships and two splendid triumphs had done good. For the Senate and the Roman people, not content with punishing him by death, added the destruction of his house, that he might be punished also by the destruction of his Penates. On the ground they built the Temple of Tellus. Thus the house that had been the dwelling of a despotic man is now the memorial of a scrupulous austerity <religiosa severitas>'.

Cicero, De Domo 101, tells, briefly, the same story.

The house of Pompey and a house belonging to Quintus Cicero were both in *Carinis*, near the Temple of Tellus. Suetonius writes (De Grammaticis 15): 'Lenaeus, a freedman of Pompey the Great, . . . used to teach in *Carinis*, near the Temple of Tellus, in which region the house of Pompey had stood' (see also Cicero, De Haruspicum Responsis 49). This house was decorated with the beaks of ships taken by Pompey. We learn from Velleius Paterculus 2.77 that Mark Antony subsequently lived in this house. Cicero alludes to this fact in his words to Antony, in Phil. 2.68: 'Do you, then, when you look at those beaks at the entrance, think you are entering your own house?' Suetonius tells us (Tib. 15) that Tiberius also lived in Pompey's house: 'He moved from the Carinae and the Domus Pompeiana to the Gardens of Maecenas on the Esquiline . . .'

Concerning the house of Quintus Cicero, near the Temple of Tellus, Cicero has a few words (Ad Quintum Fratrem 2.3.7): 'Some fine people, the Lamiae, have rented your <house> in *Carinis*'.

In the valley north of the Oppius and the Carinae, on the busy and crowded Subura, lived at one time Julius Caesar himself. Compare Suetonius, Iulius 46: 'He lived at first in a modest house in the Subura, but, afterwards, as pontifex maximus, he lived in the Domus Publica on the Sacra Via'.

Propertius and Pliny the Younger give their own

testimony that they, too, lived on the Esquiline. Propertius writes thus (3.23.23): 'Go, my boy, and quickly post this news on some column, that your master, too, lives on the Esquiline'. Pliny, speaking of some verses addressed to him by Martial, says (Epp. 3.21.5), 'He addressed the Muse and bade her seek out my house on the Esquiline'. And, last of all the great people of the early Empire, Vergil also, so Donatus (= Suetonius) tells us (Vita Vergili 6) 'had a house at Rome on the Esquiline near the Gardens of Maecenas'.

The most famous building, however, in this part of the city was the so-called Domus Aurea, built by the Emperor Nero as a pleasure-house. It was surrounded by beautiful and spacious grounds. It occupied the valley enclosed by the Palatine, the Caelian, and the Esquiline, and even spread over a part of the Esquiline itself, on which, beneath and near the Baths of Trajan, are the most important remains of this structure that have yet been discovered. Suetonius writes (Nero 31): 'He built a house extending from the Palatine to the Esquiline, which first he called the Domus Transitoria; afterwards, when it had been destroyed by the fire and restored, he called it the Domus Aurea'. Tacitus (Ann. 15.39.1) says that at the time of the great fire of 64 A. D., by which 'nearly everything in this part of the city was destroyed,

'Nero was at Antium, and did not return to the city until the fire was approaching his house, by which he had connected the Palatine and the Gardens of Maecenas. And the fire could not be stopped until the Palatine and the house and everything else around were devoured by the conflagration'.

Again, in Ann. 15.42.1, he writes:

'Nero availed himself of the ruins of his country and built a house in which not so much the gold and precious stones were to be marvelled at, things which, in the luxury of the times, were long since usual and familiar to all, as the fields and pools and great lonely woods and open spaces and broad vistas'.

The Flavian Emperors, however, destroyed the greater part of this luxurious estate and restored the land to public use; over a part of the land they built the Colosseum and the Baths of Titus. Still later, after another fire had burned the main building, the Baths of Trajan were reared upon the ruins. Orosius (7.12) mentions this fire, and says that it was thought, when the Domus Aurea was burned, that the fire was sent especially against this monument of Nero, to punish Nero himself.

Extensive excavations, carried on from time to time in the region of the Domus Aurea, have revealed subterranean corridors with their wall-paintings and their pavements. Platner writes thus (453):

The wall-paintings that were found in these chambers <those under the Baths of Trajan> in the fifteenth century inspired Raphael to paint his famous frescoes in the loggia of the Vatican and in the villa Madama. A few traces of them still remain, and also of others discovered in 1813 in the cryptoporticus.

One well-known portion of the ruins of the Domus Aurea is the reservoir, of nine compartments, which lies east of the Baths of Trajan and is called Le Sette Sale (Platner, 453).

One more house on the Esquiline must be mentioned—the house discovered in 1848, in the Via Graziosa, which has been replaced by the Via Cavour. In it were found frescoes, depicting scenes from *Odyssey* 10—the story of Odysseus's encounter with the Laestrygonians—which may now be seen in the Vatican Library. A. Noel des Vergers (*Bulletino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1849, 17–22), says that they were evidently inspired by the Greek School, and that their execution has an elegant facility, a facility, however, which precludes finish. He thinks the building is of the time of Hadrian or Trajan.

That the Caelian Hill was the home of the rich under the Empire we have ample evidence from both literary and inscriptional sources. Martial (12.18.4–6) plainly alludes to this fact when he addresses Juvenal as 'wandering, dressed in his warm toga, among the houses of the mighty on the Caelian'.

One of the first great houses on the Caelian for which we have ancient literary evidence is that of Mamurra, an officer with Caesar in Gaul. Pliny (N. H. 36.48) declares that Cornelius Nepos had stated that Mamurra, a native of Formiae, an *equus Romanus*, *praefectus fabrum* under Caesar in Gaul, was the first man at Rome to cover all the walls of his house, which was on the Caelian, with marble, and that every pillar in the house was of solid marble, from Carystus or from Luna.

On the little street called Vicus Capitis Africae, which ran south from the north side of the Caelian, stood the house of Q. Aurelius Symmachus, an orator and statesman of the fourth century A. D. An inscription was found on the Caelian, dedicated by the son of Symmachus 'to his father, quaestor, praetor, pontifex, and most eloquent orator' (C.I.L. 6.1699). We know, too, from several references in his Letters (3.88; 7.18; 7.19) that Symmachus did live on the Caelian.

On the same street was to be found in the same century the house of the Valerii, which was so magnificent that, when the son of the great L. Oradius Valerius Proculus tried to sell it, no one could be found to buy it: *ad tam magnum et mirabile opus accedere nemo ausus fuit*. But a few years later, after it had been ravaged by the invading Goths, it was sold for a mere song.

But of all the houses on the Caelian of which we have record the most noted is the *Domus Lateranorum*. We read in Tacitus (Ann. 15.49) of a Plautius Lateranus who had entered into Piso's plot against Nero, 'not because of any injury he had suffered, but for love of his country'. In Ann. 15.60 we learn that 'Nero had the consul-elect, Plautius Lateranus, put to death, and so swiftly that he did not even allow him time to bid his children farewell'. Even at this period the house is mentioned by Juvenal (10.17) as *egregiae Lateranorum . . . aedes*.

We have an inscription from the end of the second century which indicates that the house was then owned by a Sextius Torquatus and a Sextius Lateranus. The latter was consul in 197. Victor tells us (Epitome 20)

that Septimius Severus presented the palace to this Lateranus:

'He, Severus, was equally violent in friendship and in enmity, as you may see, since he presented Lateranus, Cilo, and the rest with dwellings worthy of special mention, of which the most remarkable were those called the house of the Parthians, and that of Lateranus.'

Jordan (243) does not feel sure that this is identical with the palace of the first century Lateranus. Gilbert (*Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom*, 3.349) says that there are various Laterani whose relationships we do not know, but that the name has belonged to this region even up to the present time. Platner (442–443) makes the following statements about this house:

... It must have fallen again into imperial hands, for Constantine presented it to Pope Miltiades in 313 A. D., after which time it continued to be the official residence of the popes until it was destroyed by the gradual enlargement of the great church of St. John Lateran. Some of its ruins have been discovered beneath the choir of the church . . . and consist principally of a series of apartments connected by a porticus and adorned with rows of columns, statues, and other works of art . . .

Another interesting house on the Caelian, which was near that of the Laterani, is the *Domus Anniorum*. Ruins of it have been found. In this house Marcus Aurelius, who was related to the Annii, was born, in 121 A. D. Gilbert (*Geschichte und Topographie*, etc., 3.348) quotes Jerome thus: '<Marcus Aurelius> was born on the Caelian Hill in the family's country house, and was educated in the house in which he was born and in the house of his grandfather Verus, near the palace of the Laterani'. Gilbert states also that the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol is said to have been found here (but see Lanciani, 344).

Near the *Domus Anniorum* was the *Domus Vectiliana*. Its exact site is, however, at present undecided. We are told by Lampridius, *Vita Commodi* 16.3, that the Emperor Commodus 'moved from the Palatine to the *Aedes Vectiliana* because, he said, he could not sleep on the Palatine'. We read in Julius Capitolinus, *Vita Pertinacis* 5.7, that 'Commodus was killed in the *Aedes Vectiliana*'.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was discovered on the western end of the Caelian, near the Church of SS. John and Paul, the supposed house of SS. John and Paul. Lanciani (*Pagan and Christian Rome*, 158–159) writes of this house as follows:

The church <of SS. John and Paul> has the place of honor in early itineraries of pilgrims, because of its peculiarity in containing a martyr's tomb *within* the walls of the city. William of Malmesbury says: "Inside the city, on the Caelian Hill, John and Paul, martyrs, lay in their own house, which was made into a church after their death . . . The account of the lives of the two brothers, and of their execution under Julian the Apostate, is apocryphal; but no one who has seen Padre Germano's excavations will deny the essential fact, that in this noble Roman house of the Caelian some one was put to death for his faith, and that over the room in which the event took place a church was built at a later age."

Tradition attributes its construction to Pammachius, . . . friend of S. Jerome . . .

<The church was> a mere superstructure. The Roman house was left intact.... The murder of the saints seems to have taken place in a narrow passage (*fauces*) not far from the *tablinum* or reception room.

Lanciani also comments on the frescoes in this house, which range from pagan to Christian paintings of the tenth century, and upon the remarkable fact that the house "was so long buried and forgotten".

Lanciani thinks (349) that another Church on the Caelian, that of S. Gregorio, which lies southwest of the Church of SS. John and Paul, is built over an ancient house. He cites the *Liber Pontificalis* in support of the statement that "the present church and monastery of S. Gregorio are built on the site of the paternal house" of Gregory the Great. "The transformation of the palace into a coenobium, where Gregory and his associates lived under the rule of S. Benedict, seems to have taken place in 575".

On the Aventine, across the valley of the Circus Maximus from the Caelian, some well-known Romans lived in ancient times. One of the earliest houses mentioned as on this hill was that of the poet Ennius, who, says Jerome, 'moved to Rome during Cato's quaestorship and lived on the Aventine'.

But of even greater interest to us are the houses that the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian occupied as private citizens. Of the house of Trajan, Platner says (420):

... On the southwest side of the Aventine, above the porta Lavernalis, there were probably many houses of wealthy Romans... and especially the *privata Traiani*. This was the house of Trajan, while still a private citizen, and its ruins have been found beneath the Benedictine monastery of St. Anselm....

See also Jordan, 168. It is probable that the house of Hadrian was near the Porta Ostiensis (the modern Porta S. Paolo).

On the southern spur of the Aventine, near the Church of S. Balbina, was the house of Lucius Fabius Cilo, the friend of the Emperor Septimius Severus, and, to judge by the inscriptions found in his house, a man who had held almost every office that Rome had to offer.

HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS,
PHILADELPHIA

EUPHEMIA M. MANN

REVIEW

Geschichte der Aristotelischen Philosophie im Protestantischen Deutschland. By F. Petersen. Leipzig: Meiner (1921). Pp. xii + 542.

The book under review, *Geschichte der Aristotelischen Philosophie*, etc., by H. Petersen, is far from being the author's first treatment of the history of Aristotelian philosophy. In two works entitled *Die Philosophie Friedrich Adolf Trendelenburgs: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Aristoteles im 19. Jahrhundert*, and *Goethe und Aristoteles*, he had already shown his skill in tracing the effects of an influence so powerful and so far-reaching that it begins to look as though a satisfactory 'Aristote à travers les Âges' could never be written. Dr. Petersen's present contribution to this distant and shifting ideal is a learned and

yet readable series of essays covering, with varying detail for different periods of post-Reformation Germany, the history of those Aristotelian treatises which have had the largest general influence—*Organon*, *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, *De Anima*, *Ethics*, and *Poetics*. In order to pass judgment on the earlier essays a reviewer should be familiar with the history of the Reformation; in order to pass judgment on the later essays he should at least know his way about in later Church history and in theology. A reviewer who, like the present reviewer, lacks these qualifications cannot safely do much more than attempt to trace the main outlines of those essays which offer most of interest to the general reader; he certainly cannot hope to give due credit to the author for conclusions which may have been based on evidence hitherto unnoticed or which may be due to the author's skill in 'combination'.

The Introduction sketches briefly the history of Aristotelian philosophy in Germany before the Reformation, emphasising the confusion caused by the failure to distinguish between the authentic treatises and the spurious. Since the spurious often had a Neo-Platonic tinge, one of the results was, strangely enough, that it was the Aristotelian Albertus Magnus who was chiefly responsible for the strength of Neo-Platonism in the Rhine valley, the home of German mysticism. Not until the nineteenth century did the evil results of this confusion disappear. The author's classification of nineteenth-century scholars with reference to their conception of the chief differences between Platonism and Aristotelianism makes as good reading as anything in the book.

The book proper is divided into two parts. The first covers the period during which Aristotelian philosophy was predominant (1530–1690), the second the decline of Aristotelian philosophy in the eighteenth century and the reinstatement it received from the philological and historical criticism of the nineteenth.

The first part begins, of course, with discussion of Luther and Melancthon. Luther's opposition to scholastic philosophy, says Dr. Petersen, was simply a result of his increasing aversion to any mingling of philosophy with religion; and his attitude to Aristotle is fairly indicated by his own words, "Wer ohne Gefahr in Aristoteles philosophieren will, der muss erst in Christo recht zum Narren werden". The discussion of Melancthon, as the less known figure of the two, is much fuller. Interested in Aristotle from his youth (perhaps in part through Reuchlin's influence), and sharing the enthusiasm of his age for establishing purer texts, Melancthon long cherished the hope that he might help to purify the text of Aristotle. But, coming under the powerful spell of Luther, who held that in matters of belief reason was helpless, he turned, for a number of years, away from Aristotle—or not so much away from Aristotle as away from the theology which had been erected on Aristotelian foundations. Yet even during this period he seems to have retained some interest in philosophy as a discipline by itself, and he gradually came to feel that reason might after all have some rôle to play in matters of belief. When charged with

the task of reforming education in the new Church, he saw in Aristotle's rationalism and in his reliance upon observed fact the best means of opposing Catholic mysticism; Aristotelianism seemed the freest from 'sophistic'; it was comprehensive in its scope and yet more or less uniform in its method; and so it came about that, for one hundred years or more, Aristotle was for the Lutheran Church 'the philosopher'. Wherever, therefore, Luther's preaching made converts even for a time, there generally followed a certain familiarity with Aristotelian philosophy, which was thereby strengthened even in districts on which the Lutherans presently lost their hold.

The labors of Melancthon and of his assistants, Caesarius, Camerarius, and Simon Grynaeus, were firmly supported by Luther, in spite of his personal distaste for Aristotelian philosophy; and it was in no small measure through the desire to give support to Luther and to Melancthon that the Universities of Leipzig, Jena, Marburg, Heidelberg, and Tübingen vied with Wittenberg in championing the 'orthodox' Aristotelianism.

The first great contest which that orthodoxy had to face was with Ramus, who visited Germany in 1568. His personal talents were admirably adapted, in an age of humanism, to the popularisation of his dialectic and epistemology. With the German theologians, however, in spite of the stress which they themselves laid on logic, Ramus's weakness on the side of metaphysics told heavily in the end, and Ramus lost. Yet the cause of Aristotelianism seems not to have made any corresponding gain; in spite of the number of editions of the complete works of Aristotle published in the last two-thirds of the sixteenth century and in spite of the influence of the great Italian Zabarella, towards the end of that century the study of Aristotle shared in the decline of Greek studies generally. The Physics had, of course, been partly discredited by the recent advances in physics and in mathematics. The weakening of logical study was to be in part compensated by the growth of metaphysical study in the next century. Surprisingly enough it was the Ethics and the Politics which most fully carried over into the seventeenth century the important position they had held in the sixteenth. In the case of the Politics a partial explanation is probably to be found in the admiration of a humanistic age for Cicero, but that the Ethics should satisfy Protestant theologians so long is a mystery of which Dr. Petersen is unable to give any satisfactory explanation. A conscious and total rejection of Aristotelianism, says Dr. Petersen, was a thing almost unknown in Germany until the Germans had made acquaintance with the works of Francis Bacon, Descartes, and Hobbes.

In the seventeenth century there grew up in Germany, around the study of the Metaphysics, a system of scholastic philosophy little known to-day and yet comparable to the seventeenth-century systems of Italy, France, and England. The chief figure in this system was Taurellus, an ardent Protestant who felt that the cause of 'Aristotelian' philosophy had been

injured by a sense of personal loyalty to Averroes, to St. Thomas Aquinas, or even to Aristotle himself, and who believed that in reforming the Aristotelianism of his day and in bringing it into agreement with contemporary orthodox notions of the world and of God he was doing a service to the cause of clear thinking for its own sake. The history of this scholastic movement Dr. Petersen traces in detail (in one of his longest and most interesting chapters) up to the time when, in the second half of the century, the Metaphysics—and the Aristotelian writings generally—lost a large part of their hold, and the word 'scholastic' acquired the unfavorable connotation which it often carries with it to-day.

But if the 'cause' seems to have failed, yet much of what was best in it survived in Leibnitz, whose philosophical development is traced by Dr. Petersen with special reference to this lost cause. In the succeeding chapter, on Leibnitz's contemporaries, the author incidentally enquires into the comparative state of neglect of the chief Aristotelian writings. The concluding chapter, *Aristoteles und das Geistesleben der Jahre 1720-1831*, covers ground that is more familiar—the gradual appeal which the text of Aristotle made not only to philologists (Heyne, Buhle, Gottfried Hermann, J. G. Schneider, Bekker, Brandis, Bonitz, and the rest), but also to philosophers and poets (Gottsched, Kant, Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing).

The work is well composed; it is fully documented, and gives throughout the impression that it is based upon a first-hand acquaintance with the sources. The indexes, which fill less than eight pages, might well have been considerably larger. In appearance the book suffers from poor paper. It suffers, too from occasional carelessness in proof-reading.

AMHERST COLLEGE

FRANCIS H. FOBES

TANKS AS SUCCESSORS TO CAVALRY

In *The Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1925 (136.409-418), there appeared an article, by Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, called *After Cavalry—What?* This article is of great interest to classicists. I recommend it especially to teachers who have as yet no pronounced interest in things military.

The author begins with a description of the battle which was fought in 378 A. D., on the plains near Adrianople, between the Roman legions, under Valens, and the Goths, under Fritigern. The engagement, which ended in a signal disaster to the Roman arms, was decided by the onset of Gallic horsemen who had been hurriedly recalled from their foraging grounds at a distance. Zama or Cannae or numerous battles of Philip and Alexander would have served the author's purpose, but Adrianople is peculiarly appropriate, since the Goths here vanquished with a mobile arm the power of the Roman legion, which had been so irresistible since the Second Punic War that it had not felt the need of a cavalry branch of the service composed of purely Latin blood.

During the Great War the machine-gunners on both sides on the Western Front were as invincible as ever the Roman legions had been. A suitable mobile arm was needed to dislodge them, but fettering tradition could not conceive of any mobile branch of the service except men on horseback, and they were helpless before machine-gunners. The stalemate continued until the 'tanks' began to break through. Even then nobody

seemed to realize that mounted men were simply a superficial aspect of the mobile branch of the army and that a successor to cavalry had been found.

Captain Hart maintains (417) that "The right classification and right use of tanks¹ are to be found by a study of history in the light of the unchanging and fundamental principles of war—with one eye on the past and the other on the future, for history has a strange way of repeating itself. . . . The deduction is that tanks are not an extra arm, or a substitute for infantry, but the modernized form of heavy cavalry".

In his final sentence but one he says, "The tank-assault of to-morrow is but the long-awaited rebirth of the cavalry charge, with the merely material change that moving fire is added to shock and that the cavalry-tank replaces the cavalry-horse".

A newspaper clipping of December, 1925, states that "Belgium has decided to disband its cavalry, and a similar proposal is being discussed heatedly in France". This is significant if true.

The article is but one more illustration of the essential sameness of methods of warfare. When one divests the military operations of great generals of their superficial aspects, he finds that they manifest the same basic principles. All that modern machinery does is to enable the commander to apply basic principles more effectively².

I was much surprised to find an instance of military indebtedness to antiquity in a book entitled *Tanks in the Great War*, by Brevet-Colonel J. F. C. Fuller (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1920). Apropos of the tactics of infantrymen behind this new weapon of warfare, the author says (142), "To enable them to work quickly in section single files and to form from these into section lines, a simple platoon drill was issued, and it is interesting to note that this drill was based on a very similar one described by Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia*" and attributed to King Cyrus"³.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS, JANUARY 1926

The Scholarship Examinations of the New York Classical Club were held at the College of the City of New York, on Saturday, January 16.

At these examinations, the fifteenth given by the Club, there were twenty-seven competitors—fifteen girls, and twelve boys. These came from nine High Schools in Greater New York which offer the four-year course in Latin and the three-year course in Greek.

The Latin Scholarship was won by Celia Lazarus, of the Hunter College High School, with a grade of 90%. The Greek Scholarship was won by Helen Teichberg, of

the Eastern District High School, with a grade of 85%.

Honorable Mention was awarded, in Latin, to Bertha C. Goldberg, of the Hunter College High School.

The winners of the Scholarships and the winner of Honorable Mention are to receive the Classical Medals given by the Club.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF
NEW YORK

CARROLL N. BROWN

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

VII

Philological Quarterly—April, Veni, Vidi, Vici, M. E. Deutsch; Caesar's Thrasicon Boast, H. W. Gilmer. Review, by B. L. Ullman, of R. M. Gummere, Seneca, J. W. Mackail, Vergil, G. Showerman, Horace, and H. O. Taylor, Greek Biology and Medicine, volumes in the series *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*; Review, by H. Craig, of L. Cooper, *An Aristotelian Theory of Comedy*, etc.—July, Non-recurrence in Vocabulary as a Test of Authorship, R. B. Steele [bears on the question of the authorship of poems in the Appendix Vergiliana. The author has in mind various recent attempts to prove, or disprove, the ascription of these poems to Vergil by a study of their vocabulary and a comparison of it, or contrast of it, with that of the known works of Vergil]; Review, favorable, by C. H. Weller of D. M. Robinson, Sappho and her Influence.—October, De Livii Capite VII. 2, H. Klingelhöfer [a contribution to the question of the Roman dramatic *satura*]; Review, fulsome, but too brief to be of any real value, by B. L. Ullman, of A. S. Pease, M. Tulli Ciceronis De Divinatione Libri [an elaborate commentary, the first in English, of this important work of Cicero].—January, A Fleury Text of Avianus, W. A. Oldfather; Boccaccio's Acquaintance with Homer, Cornelia C. Coulter; Review, too brief to be of value, by Charles B. Wilson, of the Streiberg Festgabe [a book dedicated to Professor Wilhelm Streiberg on his sixtieth birthday, February 23, 1924; it contains contributions from 54 friends and students].

School and Society—January 2, Proposed College Entrance Requirements in New England [unsigned].—January 9, The Romance Languages as an Introduction to Latin, Henry Grattan Doyle; Translation English, William R. Price, H. G. Thompson, E. B. Richards [this paper is the outcome of an investigation which was made in the following way: "In pursuit of some evidence that English as taught in New York State functions in the translation of Latin and French and that ancient and modern language teachers are holding students to a satisfactory English rendering of foreign language texts, a careful reading of the translation passages in Latin and in French, written by fourth-year students in New York state high schools in the June 1925, Regents examinations, was made by competent English teachers employed as temporary examiners by the state department". At the end the authors write as follows: "This study was undertaken to show that students in high schools could or could not write acceptable English translations of Latin or French. That they can not do so has been undoubtedly shown"].

CHARLES KNAPP

¹The name 'tanks' may have helped to conceal their true function from their builders as well as from the enemy. Perhaps if they had been called 'iron horses', it would have been easier for soldiers to assign to them their proper place. Tacticians were slow in seeing the proper relation of artillery to the rest of the army. We ourselves are having trouble in determining whether aeroplanes are a mere adjunct of the army and navy or should be a separate branch of the service.

²Reference may be made here to the fine paper by Colonel O. L. Spaulding, Jr., *Warfare, Ancient and Modern*, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 10.3-10. See also O. L. Spaulding, Jr., *The Classical Element in the German War Plan of 1914*, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.142-144, and Bruno Meinicke, *A Modern Cannae*, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.157-159. For the 'tank', see R. G. Kent, *The Turris Ambulatoria and the Perambulating 'Tank'*, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 10.48.

³The modern tactics are not described, but I take it that the reference to Xenophon is to *Cyropaedia* 2.3.21. For diagrams of these movements see Professor Walter Miller's translation of the *Cyropaedia*, in *The Loeb Classical Library*, 1.188-189.